

JEFFERSON AS A VACCINATOR.



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ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS.

free

(2)

Mr. Jefferson

FREE



Doct^r. Benjamin Waterhouse

Cambridge

Massachusetts

JEFFERSON AS A VACCINATOR.

By HENRY A. MARTIN, M. D., Boston, Mass.

An eccentric inclination turned the mind of the writer to the study of vaccination, and of everything connected with its history and practice at a very early period of life. That inclination has

never abated and has led to the devotion of an amount of rather thankless labor to the cause of vaccination which, in many other fields of professional labor, would long since have been rewarded by distinction and fortune. It has led, too, to the introduction of ANIMAL VACCINATION in America and through that, to the pleasant consciousness of having conferred, whether ever fully appreciated or not, an incalculable benefit on the American people.

Whatever gratitude he may owe to the people of America whose intelligence and good sense led to universal and almost immediate appreciation and acceptance of *true** animal vaccination, or to the almost innumerable members of his profession everywhere, even in Boston, who have applauded his efforts and adopted his teachings, he owes none whatever to the controlling medical clique of Boston or the Journal which is that clique's most subservient and subsidized organ. For the ten years which have elapsed since, in September, 1870, true animal vaccination was introduced in Boston, that Journal has published no single word to even inform its readers of the remarkable revolution in practice by which this method has become an American institution. So long as it was hoped that its feeble effort might prevent the acceptance of the innovation its weakly issues were sure to display every attainable slur and equivocal unfavorable to it, no matter how irresponsible, disreputable, obscure, or even anonymous its source.† When it became evident even to

*I say TRUE animal vaccination. (the inoculation of a selected young bovine animal, with the virus, of spontaneously occurring cow-pox; from this another similar animal, and so on, in endless series, as the source, and *only* source of lymph for human vaccination), to distinguish the method which was introduced into America by myself in September, 1870, from *Retro vaccination*, (inoculation of animals with humanized virus) which had, before that time been extensively practiced here; and *variolation* of kine, which had been occasionally attempted, once at least, with very disastrous consequences. Both of these might be called animal vaccination, but both are very different things, indeed, from the method I advocate, and, for over seven years, have *exclusively* practiced. I think it worth while to define my position thus elaborately and clearly as there have existed and still exist very erroneous notions on the subject even among those who think themselves sufficiently well-informed to pronounce very decided opinions and criticisms.—H. A. M.

†The time has not arrived to write fully, as some time, in the future, may be done, of the infamous manner in which the Journal alluded to, pandered to the malignant, cowardly animosity of one leader of the "*Boston Clique*," the wire puller, in fact, of the whole abomination. That person, and a few like him, pay the annually increasing deficit in that Journal's exchequer, and, of course, it *dare* not refuse the publication of anything for its *patrons*, no matter how infamously unjust or anonymous, so long as the sharp claws of the *Law* were evaded.—H. A. M.

that journal's proprietors and managers, long after it had been evident to every one else, that the triumphant success of animal vaccination was utterly above and beyond all possibility of being marred or even abated by its petty malignity, silence became and has continued the rule. The course pursued towards himself caused the writer no surprise. He knew the *animus* of the "BOSTON CLIQUE" too well; with its history, however hateful and obscure, he was too familiar to, for a moment, believe that it would be so false to all its traditions as to fairly and impartially criticize, much less applaud a novelty, however striking and important, the author or representative of which was a Boston physician, but not a member of its hereditary "Ring."

It is a singular but quite indubitable fact that, in Boston, not only animal vaccination in 1870, but the Jennerian vaccination in 1800 by Benjamin Waterhouse and variolous inoculation in 1721 by Zabdiel Boylston were first introduced in America. It is a fact as unquestionable, but by no means so singular, to any one who is familiar with the history of the medical profession in Boston and the local influences which now control and always have controlled it, that neither of these events was in any way due to the genial, fostering nurture and patronage of the medical profession of Boston, but simply and solely, in the two latter instances, to the wisdom, perseverance and courage of two of the noblest and bravest men who have yet illustrated the history of American medicine. These qualities carried Boylston and Waterhouse triumphantly to the end they aimed at, not only without the aid of their "*brethren*" of the Boston profession, but in spite of opposition and persecution at their hands, absolutely without a parallel, or near approach to a parallel in the history of the introduction of vaccination or even of inoculation in any city or country of the world.* This is

*In the Boston *Polyanthos*, for May, 1806, there is a brief biographical notice of Waterhouse and a few autobiographical notes in the preface to his own remarkable volume on the authorship of Junius (a subject not so hackneyed then as it has since become). I can remember no other attempt at his biography. Appleton's cyclopedia contains some ten or a dozen lines in which no allusion is made to what was really his great life-work. Waterhouse was, probably, the most thoroughly educated American physician of his time. Nephew of the great Dr. Fothergill and, through that relationship with the recognized head of the English profession, the recipient of very exceptional advantages. Before leaving America he studied medicine with a very competent physician (Dr. Haliburton, of Newport, R. I.) for three years. In London he enjoyed the familiar intimacy of Fothergill, residing in

not the place to give even a sketch of the shameful history of the persecutions of Boylston and Waterhouse. If life is spared to the writer, with somewhat ampler leisure, that history, so far as it relates to Benjamin Waterhouse, shall be written, for of him no

his house, improving the opportunities of his immense practice, and of his daily, hourly instruction and counsel. Afterwards he studied for a year or more at Edinburgh (then the second medical school) and subsequently, for a full term of study at Leyden (without question *the* leading school of the time) where he took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. He was the life-long friend and correspondent of Lettsom, Fothergill, Hunter, Jenner, and, indeed, of all the leaders of English medicine. So great was his acknowledged merit that, no sooner had he settled down in a large practice at Newport, (his native place) than he was invited by the government of Massachusetts and of Harvard University to accept the Professorship of Theory and Practice in the medical school of Harvard, of which Dr. John Warren (Anatomy and Surgery) and Aaron Dexter (Chemistry) constituted, with W., the entire Faculty. He was the author of the very earliest literary medical productions in Massachusetts which have the slightest claim to consideration and remembrance. Of his works I will mention the volume and several pamphlets and a very large number of letters and papers, some of them long and elaborate, and all of them very well written, on vaccination; a very carefully and practically written volume on *Pertussis*, forgotten and excessively rare, but well worth consideration and study even now. A large octavo volume on the authorship of Junius, his most ambitious literary labor, in which Lord Chatham is held to be the man behind the mask. The mention of these works, however, gives but a partial and imperfect notion of his literary activity or of its results, which are to be found scattered among the various secular and medical journals of his time. Results produced, let it be remembered because such men as he *must* work, must strive for the good and improvement of humanity and their profession, not because he had any of those auspicious stimuli of success, popularity, applause and wealth which excite and reward an author. It would be hard to imagine an atmosphere more chilling and paralyzing, a sky more leaden, forbidding, even threatening than surrounded and hung over the whole literary life of Waterhouse, from the first day that he yielded to the glittering bait of a professorship and the honor of being a founder of the first medical school of New England. When one looks for some reasons for the bitter animosity of the Boston profession to W. during his long life after his removal to that "Modern Athens," and the remarkable paucity of all biographical mementoes following his decease, they are quite readily and sufficiently found in the fact that he was, by natural capacity, as well as by education, superior to any man in the coterie that opposed and persecuted him. *That* is an offense which mediocrity cannot forgive. (2d.) That he was a man not to submit tamely to wrong nor to bend the knee to the Baal of popularity. (3d.) That he was the representative of Jenner in America, chosen by that great benefactor for that great work, applauded by him while it was being done and thanked and perfectly approved when it was finished. The authorities of the Massachusetts Medical Society had a pet representative of vaccination of their own selection. It did not suit them at all that no one recognized or thought of him in that capacity except themselves. Their pet was a disciple of Pearson and Woodville, Waterhouse first, last and always a faithful follower of Jenner. (4th.) He disapproved, and repeatedly, with no uncertain sound, expressed his disapproval of the practice of his time, a practice which, for certain local reasons, reached a degree in Boston and the regions influenced by that professional centre, not paralleled elsewhere, a practice sufficiently defined by a famous saying of one of Waterhouse's most prominent Boston

biography has yet been written.* The matter is now alluded to at all by the writer, merely to account for the intense and quite peculiar interest with which he has, little by little, gathered together the facts connected with the first introduction of inoculation and vaccination in America. It has been a great consolation for all the scurvy treatment he has himself received to know that it is but a faint and imperfect repetition of the outrageous villainy with which men, far worthier and nobler workers in a similar field, were for long life times pursued, in the same community, by the ancestors of the very men who now constitute the leaders of the BOSTON CLIQUE, for it is one of the peculiarities of matters medical in Boston, that not only is surgical genius and even talent, but also controlling influence of the coterie so well known by that expressive title, a matter of birth and inheritance. Like the wages of sin it is visited to the third, yea! in one instance at least, even to the fourth generation.

contemporaries. "Yes, sir! I have drawn many a hogshead of blood and administered many barrels of calomel and hope to live to draw and administer many hogsheads and barrels more." He did not disapprove of the rational use of blood-letting and mercurials, but of the "*heroic*" practice of the time and place which has long since been decided to be irrational and most disastrous. He even went so far as to say that the medical heresies of Thomsonianism would, to a certain degree, do good as they denounced mercurial treatment and preached the exclusive use of vegetable remedies. He deplored and denounced the prosecutions and persecutions of Thompson as disgraceful and injurious to the profession. (5th). And *chief*, over the heads of all the Boston physicians (utterly unfit and incompetent but it was hardly to be expected that *they* would see or acknowledge *that*) he, a Rhode Island man, had been elected Professor of Theory and Practice in Harvard. This was the true bone of contention, not much *meat*, as it surely proved, for it took W. from his beautiful native town, from a delightful, appreciative and refined society, from a large and affluent practice and gave him poverty, persecution, "envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness," but, with all these—the empty title of Professor of a chair which for a great many years yielded him no income at all, and never an income of \$100 annually. It was, however, the bone of contention, about which a crew of hungry, ravening, snarling, incompetent Boston doctors raged and yelped until poor Waterhouse threw it up in disgust.—H. A. M.

*In Thatcher's "American Medical Biography," under the head of "Boylston, Dr. Zabdiel, F. R. S.," and in the very valuable "History of Medicine in America," preceding that work will be found a sufficient history of the life of Boylston to more than justify all that I have written above, enough to justify all that I could possibly write in the same vein. The reader may safely accept my assurance that the persecution of Waterhouse was as ferocious and vindictive, though the weapons were a little *finer* than mobs with halters, lighted bomb-shells and attempts at murder and arson and subornation of perjury of Scotch and French vagabond medical adventurers.—H. A. M.

During the decade ending in 1808, that wonderful medical novelty, vaccination, largely occupied the medical mind of Europe, and what little of civilization lay outside the bounds of that favored continent. Indeed, not only physicians, but many others of a philosophic or philanthropic turn, fascinated by the wonderful truth proclaimed by Jenner, hoped in some humble way and degree to win a name which might be associated with his, man's greatest benefactor. Kings, nobles, great Dignitaries sought to merit the gratitude of men by their efforts to spread among their peoples a knowledge of the wonderful Talisman whose virtue was of sovereign efficacy against the direst of all the plagues that threatened, and threatened always, our poor humanity. Other pestilences visited Christendom at intervals, generally long ones. However unlike Angel's visits in other respects, they were "few and far between"; but the evil angel, *variola* was always present, always imminent. None knew when, nor with what lethal force his dread arrows would be sped, arrows threatening not only life, but which sparing that, often left a poor, languishing, broken, scarred wreck of womanly beauty and manly comeliness and vigor. Few, even in our own profession really, in these days of skepticism, even distantly appreciate the immense boon which vaccination has been to humanity, but in the early days of this century there was no such want of perception of the value of Jenner's beneficent practice. All knew too well how fearful and inevitable was the plague it promised to avert.

What a contrast now! Instead of engaging the thought and research of every thinking man in the profession, vaccination is really *studied* but by a few eccentric students. The names of even the *leaders* of that legion of able investigators who sought to emulate Jenner, and win immortality by earnest labor in development of his doctrines, are well nigh clean forgotten. Who knows now of Pearson, of Woodville, of Willan, of Bryce, of Sacco, of De-Carro, of Stromeyer, and of a myriad more who, nevertheless, most fairly won a title to gratitude and far more lasting recollection? But, coming nearer home, how many physicians of America are familiar with even the name of Benjamin Waterhouse? To how many possibly will these pages convey the very first intimation that such a person ever existed? and yet, Waterhouse was, without any doubt, one of the *very* ablest and worthiest

of the innumerable disciples of Jenner, was so esteemed by the great benefactor, and won the title of "JENNER OF AMERICA," not by the favor of a clique or of some partial editor or club of mutual admiration, but by the concurrent voice of the medical profession of Great Britain as expressed by the unanimous enthusiastic verdict of the London Medical Society. Letters of Jenner, still extant, afford ample evidence of the perfect confidence he reposed in the man he selected to promulgate his doctrines in America, and even those who have looked but superficially into the matter well know how ardently, enthusiastically, untiringly, bravely and wisely that selection and confidence were justified and rewarded. Those only who have looked more deeply into the history of Waterhouse's long stewardship of the trust so fully reposed in him by Jenner, can even distantly appreciate the difficulties of his position in those days of most slow, difficult and precarious communication with Europe, when America was practically ten times, yes ten times that, further from England than now. Those rare students alone can know the rare sagacity with which Waterhouse perceived truth and detected error, when, so far removed from the aid and counsel of his master, error and falsehood and calumny surrounded him on all sides and truth was well nigh inaccessible. They alone can appreciate the real peril in which the malignant perversity of enemies and its results placed him more than once, the treacherous duplicity and meanness with which his professional "brethren" of the "Massachusetts Medical Society" deserted him on one flimsy and transparent excuse or another, and left him to meet that fearful peril alone. They alone can know how readily, when the erroneous notions and practice of Woodville bore their inevitable disastrous fruits not only in England but this country the man whose name Boston medical after dinner orators even now mention as *the* promulgator of vaccination in America BEFORE or *even to the exclusion* of that of Waterhouse rushed rapidly into print to recant his full faith in Jenner and vaccination. Such students, in the total absence of any easily accessible memoir of Waterhouse, can alone know and estimate the courage with which, ALONE, abandoned by the President and Vice-President of the Massachusetts Medical Society who had *promised* to accompany him he calmly faced the enraged population of Marblehead among whom a variolous epidemic raged, the result of the *labors* of a gentleman who had

actively inoculated a large percentage of its population with virus obtained from one of those famous *Vaccinifers* of Woodville whose *vaccina** was complicated with "burdens" of from 50 to 5000 pustules on all parts of the body. They alone know how bravely he met that mob of afflicted and enraged men, afflicted because those near and dear to them were in the grasp of the destroyer, enraged because the professional *brethren* of Waterhouse had informed them that their affliction was but a legitimate result of the new fangled inoculation which Waterhouse had so ardently taught. They knew, too, that that mob being neither one of medical or theological bigots did *not* hang Waterhouse or tar and feather him at least, which it must be feared would have been an exquisite gratifications to the two *brethren* who *should* have been with him but were not, but listened to his calm, clear, honest, and under all the circumstances, marvellously sagacious and accurate explanation of the disaster and accompanied him homeward with thanks and honor and cordial invitations to visit their town again. It is a *pity* that our profession should possess no memorial of a man in every way so worthy as Benjamin Waterhouse. It is a *shame* that the *odium medicorum* which surely comes *next*, (the only question can be whether *before* or *after*) to that *odium theologicum* we have all heard about, should have succeeded in obliterating and obscuring the record of so much, and such rare sagacity and courage as his whole long life and his apostleship of vaccination displayed. Who knows or cares that this great and good, and learned man labored, wrote, contended and impoverished himself in the long-continued and successful effort to make known the *true* doctrines of Jenner and vaccination in America, and that when, in 1810, he petitioned the Legislature of Massachusetts to, in some slight degree, reimburse him for what he had lost and suffered, he received from that august body ("Lobby'd" by the dignitaries of the Massachusetts Medical Society) gracious permission to "withdraw his petition"? Who knows or cares to know that the Medical Society of Massachusetts, which had opposed Waterhouse and vaccination, *as taught by Jenner*, for ten long years, and won for Massachusetts, the dubious

*The term *vaccina* is the only one used by Jenner, Waterhouse and all the earlier writers on vaccination. It is correct, and, as there is no other reason for the termination in *in* except a silly euphemism. I have, in this paper, as in previous ones, chosen to resume the old, original and entirely correct word.—H. A. M.

distinction of being the *very last* civilized State whose profession, by its acknowledged executive, recognized vaccination? It was not until June, 1808, that the Massachusetts Medical Society accepted the report of a committee on vaccination, and thus tardily and ungraciously yielded its countenance to the beneficent doctrines which had been welcomed with enthusiasm, while its author had been loaded with every honor which gratitude could inspire, by every civilized country. Will it be believed that this committee of three did not include, although he was one of the oldest members of the Society, the man whom Jenner had selected as his champion, and who, single handed, had fought the fight, and long before, won the victory for vaccination in America? In that committee's long-winded and utterly trashy report, made up entirely of long excerpts from English books and journals, Waterhouse's name does not once appear. Who knows now of all this old persecution, unfairness and unworthiness? Who could even guess the truth when glib annual orators claim, as one of the chiefest labors and services of what *they* call the "time-honored glorious old conservative Massachusetts Medical Society," the exclusive agency of first introducing vaccination in Massachusetts and this wide union of States, the truth that that Society, through its executive, did all it could to oppose vaccination, to hinder, vilify, and persecute the noble man, who, in the face of obstacles innumerable, struggled for the truth and won—won! What? Poverty, persecution, bitter and mendacious, and a fame so great and lasting, that only here and there an eccentric student knows more than his name. It is a great lesson for those who think too much of the fleeting honors and renowns of our profession.*

*I have, in a previous note, sufficiently, although by no means exhaustively, explained the reasons for the animosity of what is called "the Massachusetts Medical Society towards Waterhouse." A word or two, however, is necessary in explanation of what I mean by the Massachusetts Medical Society. That Society is intended to include all, and *does* include nearly all the members of the regular medical profession in Massachusetts. It is by no means towards the entire body of the regular profession of that State or any other that I would express anything but entire and deep respect. What I *always* mean by the Massachusetts Medical Society is the narrow clique of Boston physicians which, owing to a most absurd and faulty organization, based on the worst possible model, that of the London College of Physicians, has, from its very earliest beginnings in 1733, completely controlled the *executive* of that Society and misrepresented the medical profession of Massachusetts; no more in the days of Waterhouse than now, no more now than fifty years hence if

Few in America to-day know much of Benjamin Waterhouse, though it is but some 35 years since he "passed to the majority." How many in the South, loyal as she is to her great men and memories, know that one of her greatest men, at the very time when he was at his greatest, President of the United States, when to be President was the sure seal of merit and patriotism, THOMAS JEFFERSON, was not only a patron and student of vaccination, but an active practical disciple of Jenner and the direct introducer of vaccination into Virginia, Pennsylvania and the whole South?

I do not know, perhaps, the South is more grateful to her medical benefactors than the North has been, and that Jefferson's beneficent agency in this matter is familiar to every Southern man, or at any rate, to every Southern physician.

The writer of this paper has given some money and much research and labor to the accumulation of a large collection of so much of the more ancient literature and history of vaccination as has escaped the paper mill and the trunk maker. In this pursuit he has become possessed of the already very rare works of Waterhouse, and enjoys the fortunate privilege of the temporary custody of the sadly imperfect, but precious relic of what must have been the enormous correspondence of the Jenner of America with the leading minds of Europe and America.* This mass of manuscript contains letters

the same miserable organization continues, an organization by which every meeting of the counsellors [a body which has gradually, as is the invariable and inevitable tendency of such bodies, aggrandized the entire control and even law-making power of the Society at large, the only right of which is to register and *approve* votes, with the proposal or passage of which it has had nothing whatever to do] is constantly and entirely controlled by a large majority of Boston men and their suburban confederates, distant rural districts being necessarily most inadequately represented at the meetings, all of which are held in Boston and in the evening; to attend which, members of the council residing at a distance must make great and *practically* impossible sacrifices of time, money, and convenience.—H. A. M.

*Owing to the eccentricity of a relative of Waterhouse, his correspondence during a very long and active life, which was known to be enormous in extent, most carefully annotated and preserved, as well as a very elaborate diary from which a few excerpts survive, begun at a very early period and continued for the greater part of a very long life have been lost; sold as waste paper, destroyed as worthless. All that is known to remain are a very few of Jenner's letters and the correspondence of Jefferson, Madison and Adams. We can scarcely estimate how great has been our loss in the annihilation of such a vast mass of correspondence for so long a period, of most of the leading minds of the English profession, as well as that of America, with so very worthy a correspondent as the many letters still extant in MS., as well as printed, (in Haygarth's book, Lettson's life and letters, &c.) clearly prove Waterhouse to have been. The relative and *heir* alluded to, had, doubtless, the greatest reverence for the memory of Waterhouse but an unfortunate insensibility to the value of old letters. Nearly all such were destroyed, while the large mass of the Doctor's College lectures on Theory and Practice and Natural History were and are carefully preserved; a pious duty to his memory, of dubious service to the present generation.

from Jenner, Presidents Madison, John Quincy Adams, and, most complete of all, and certainly *as* interesting and valuable as any, a series of fifteen letters from Jefferson, dated from 1801 to 1822. While arranging material with a view to attempting a biography of Waterhouse and a history of the first introduction of vaccination in America, a work far more complicated and difficult than was at first hoped, it occurred to the writer that an easier task might be a short narrative of Jefferson's connection with vaccination, consisting of that great man's own letters, with Waterhouse's own comments upon them and little else, nothing whatever unless an occasional word of note or explanation should seem necessary to a clear or *clearer* understanding.

I have given you the entire *raison d'être* of this communication. Perhaps you may think it worth publication. If so, and its publication should really be of service in rescuing from oblivion a most interesting episode in the career of one of America's greatest patriots and statesmen, and one of the many noble citizens of Virginia and the South, exciting a little long dormant or quite deficient gratitude to the memory of Waterhouse, or, possibly, for even so far will sanguine enthusiasm sometimes carry one—reviving, here and there, a spark of interest in the much neglected study of vaccination and of its almost forgotten history and literature, a faint appreciation of the vast debt we *all* owe to Jenner and we of America to him who was esteemed by all worthy contemporaries, one of his worthiest if not the most worthy of his disciples, and a twinge or two of not entirely pleasant consciousness of the way these admirable men were treated during life and have been forgotten since, the writer will be much more than rewarded for the *modicum* of trouble the work has given him.

That the story of the introduction of vaccination in Virginia, Philadelphia and the Southern States can be essentially told in the *ipsissima verba* of Waterhouse and Jefferson is an advantage which, it is not doubted, will be appreciated by the reader.

INTRODUCTION OF VACCINATION IN AMERICA BY WATERHOUSE.

In the beginning of the year 1799, Waterhouse received from his old friend, the great Quaker physician and philanthropist, Dr. Lettsom, of London, a copy of Jenner's now famous "Inquiry into the Causes and Effects of the Variolæ Vaccinæ or Cow-Pox." Read-

ing that work he was struck with the remarkable advantages that might accrue to America as well as to the whole human race from Jenner's discovery and practice. Soon after receiving Jenner's Inquiry he received Dr. George Pearson's book.*

The first fruits of his study of these two earliest publications of the literature of vaccination was a communication to the *Columbian Centinel* (a Boston newspaper) of March 12th, 1799, entitled "Something Curious in the Medical Line," a brief but extremely well written announcement and description of Jenner's discovery and doctrine. "This publication" writes Waterhouse in his forty paged pamphlet entitled "A Prospect of Exterminating the Small-Pox" (1800) "shared the fate of most others on new discoveries. A few received it as a very important discovery, highly interesting to humanity; some doubted it; others observed that wise and prudent conduct, which allows them to condemn or applaud, as the event might prove; while a greater number absolutely ridiculed it as one of those medical whims which arise to-day, and to-morrow are no more." For ten long years the two latter classes seem to have practically included the entire profession of Boston, judicious straddlers of the fence ready to jump to either side, and utter doubters.

One fails to discover, with the bright exception of Waterhouse, a single enthusiastic faithful believer and disciple of Jenner. A few weeks afterwards, at a meeting of the "American Academy of Arts and Sciences," Waterhouse stated all that he had then learned of vaccination, exhibited Jenner's "beautiful publication" and repeated all that he could remember of Pearson's book which some

*The title of Pearson's book, the *second* on vaccine literature is "An | Inquiry | concerning | the History | of the | Cow-Pox | principally with a view to | SUPERSEDE
"and EXTINGUISH | the | SMALL POX, by George Pearson, M. D., F. R. S., | Physician to St. George's Hospital; | of the College of Physicians, &c. | Feliciores Inscrit
"Hoc London, 1798." That of Woodville, which was the next to appear is "Re-
ports | of a | series of inoculations | for the | VARTOLÆ VACCINÆ | or | Cow-Pox | with
remarks and observations on this | disease, considered as a substitute for | the | small
pox | by Wm. Woodville, M. D. | Physician to the Small-Pox and Inoculation Hos-
pitals | London | 1799." This latter book is one of the most amusing and instructive
but deplorable instances of a great "authority" making absurdly erroneous obser-
vations and dogmatically insisting on the utterly fallacious deductions made from
them. The book and its author were the instructors of that *Pel* of the Massachu-
setts Medical Society who may justly be called the *Woodville of America*. The work
did infinite harm to the cause of vaccination, and much to perplex and embitter
the lives of Jenner and Waterhouse.—H. A. M.

kind friend of a species not yet extinct, had *borrowed* and failed to return. At this meeting of a society of the most eminent Americans, but of which very few physicians were members, presided over by John Adams, the then President of the United States, Waterhouse records that "the reception of this communication was much to my satisfaction especially with the ILLUSTRIOUS PRESIDENT, who to a profound erudition in laws and politics, joins a no small knowledge in the science of medicine."

It is not in accordance with the plan of this paper to continue the narrative of Waterhouse's labors to obtain the fullest and most reliable information in regard to vaccination, and to make that knowledge available and useful to his countrymen. His own publications and other sources of information reveal how arduous those labors were, involving a very extensive correspondence with leaders of the English profession as well as with Jenner himself, and with innumerable inquirers in every part of this country; and also frequent and able papers in the secular press and in the single American Medical Journal then existing.

Although Jenner's, Pearson's and Woodville's books had been sent to Waterhouse by Lettson and other English friends, none of these seem to have been thoughtful enough to accompany these gifts with supplies of vaccine lymph, but Waterhouse lost no time in seeking the treasure. "Under a Serious Impression" he writes "of effecting a public benefit, and conceiving it, moreover, a duty in my official situation in this University, I sent to England for some of the *vaccine* or *cow-pox matter* for trial. After several fruitless attempts, I obtained some by a short passage from Bristol, and with it I inoculated all the younger part of my family."*

*The first consignment of *efficient* virus to this country was from Dr. Haygarth, of Bath, procured for him by Mr. Creaser, surgeon of that city. Dr. Haygarth's friendship for Waterhouse was of old date, from 1778, at least, when Waterhouse was a pupil and guest of his uncle. A long and extremely interesting letter of that date, on the very peculiar and stringent, not to say cruel, method of isolating small-pox patients in the colony of Rhode Island, his native colony, by Waterhouse, is to be found in Dr. Haygarth's "Researches on Means of Preventing the Natural Small Pox" (I have not got the original, and re-translate the title from a contemporary French translation) a book, once deservedly famous, which strongly urges the same system, strictly enforced, as the proper means, inoculation, however beneficial to the individual having there been fully proved most disastrous to the unprotected community, of controlling the spread of *variola*. When vaccination was announced and its *perfect* prophylactic efficacy

The first person vaccinated in America was Daniel Oliver Waterhouse, a boy five years old. The operation was successful. The *phenomena* of the disease in this case are well described by the father, but, of course, need not be repeated here. One remark, however, with which the description closes, deserves to be preserved in these days when any sort of a "mark," no matter how smooth or shallow, is dismissed by many as sufficient evidence of a "good" preceeding vaccination: "A piece of *true skin* was fairly taken out of the arm by the *virus*, the part appearing as if eaten out by a canstic, a *never failing sign of thorough affection of the system in the inoculated small-pox.*" The narrative of the vaccination of other members of the doctor's family, servants, &c., their full exposure to the contagiousness of *variola*, both by volatile *effluvia* and inoculation at Dr. Aspinwall's small-pox hospital, and the perfect proof of the complete protection vaccination had afforded thus obtained, and much more connected with the early history of vaccination in America, may be found related in Waterhouse's first pamphlet, but this is not the place to relate these events. The writer must, however loath, forbear quotation of what he has always considered an extremely interesting narrative, and hasten on to the more limited point which he finds it so hard to reach. Waterhouse's first supply of virus, reached him early in July, 1800. The pamphlet in which he describes the vaccination of his family, and their exposure to variolous contagion was published in August, at which time, as we learn from a note on page 25, five members of his family, (three children and two servants) were still residing at Dr. Aspinwall's Small-Pox and Inoculation Hospital in Brookline, Mass.

The subsequent history of the introduction of vaccination is to be demonstrated, this plan fell to the ground for it was then *assumed* that vaccination would be *invariably* and *fully* adopted and practiced. Now, however, in the shameful neglect of anything like, or approaching an adequate appreciation of the inestimable value of vaccination, (by which term, of course, I wish to include that thorough *re-vaccination* after the age of puberty, which experience, not in the possession of the early vaccinators, has *proved* to be necessary to complete the *prophylaxis*), sanitary philosophers are again advocating isolation, (a method of great efficacy where the disease manifests little tendency to spread, but of very little use in large dense populations where anything properly called an epidemic or pandemic influence prevails) and pooch-pooching vaccination as a means of secondary or even doubtful value. They seem to forget how *very* thoroughly isolation was once practiced and of how little value it proved except in populations so sparse that it was hardly indicated.—H. A. M.

found in "A Prospect of Exterminating the Small-Pox, Part II," published in November, 1802, and dedicated to John Coakley Lettison and Edward Jenner. This is a book of 139 pages, by far the most important work on vaccination which has yet appeared on this side of the Atlantic. The assertion is made with full knowledge of the works of Seaman, Seofield, and the still more ambitious productions of Dr. Coxe, of Philadelphia. The two first have little *original* merit and Dr. Coxe's book, however meritorious in most respects, broaches certain original theories of the author leading to a violation of the "*golden rule*" of Jenner "*never to take the virus from a vaccine pustule for the purpose of inoculation after the efflorescence is formed around it,*" and thence to incalculable harm to the practice of vaccination in America by the production of innumerable cases of spurious *vaccina*, and thence great imperfection or total absence of protection.

Reading this work of Waterhouse, we cannot help feeling sincere respect and admiration for the sagacity and enthusiasm of the author. What seems simple and familiar enough to us presented many and very difficult problems then. In solving these he faithfully followed every indication afforded by the MASTER, but at every turn difficulties arose, difficulties in the subject itself, in the false teachings of Woodville, Coxe, Pearson and others, and resulting from the malpractice of many of his "brethren," in which the aid of Jenner, in those days of slow and precarious communication with Europe, was not available, in which his own wisdom and courage must aid him. It is pleasant to record that they never failed him, and his book is so sound on every important part of his subject that, even now, it may be read with infinitely, more advantage, and less danger of erroneous teachings than many, perhaps, most of the more modern, better known, and far more frequently consulted works on vaccination.

The first American vaccination was made July 8th, 1800. By the 1st of September, Waterhouse had vaccinated "about fifty persons of different ages, sexes, and conditions," and "public attention was thoroughly excited." From "all parts of New England" he received "very numerous letters requesting further information, as well as a supply of *matter* for carrying on the inoculation."

With Waterhouse's announcement of the successful vaccination

of his family, and the thorough and triumphant test and proof of its value as a perfect *prophylactic* of *variola*, his labors and troubles began; labors and troubles to be continued through many years, utterly thankless and unrewarded, but performed and overcome with wonderful energy, enthusiasm and wisdom. Innumerable were the inquiries and demands for vaccine virus and, although he was untiring in his efforts, innumerable the complaints because, all were not answered and every demand not immediately gratified.

In the secular press, in the rarely appearing issues of medical journals, in every available way he ceaselessly cautioned the profession to be careful to follow *exactly* the precise and admirable rules laid down by Jenner, not one of which has failed to withstand the test of time or to survive the antagonistic doctrines of innumerable theorists. Over and over again, he repeated, and enforced the repetition with much ability and eloquence, that inestimable "GOLDEN RULE" of Jenner already referred to; adhering to which, exactly, one can hardly go amiss, and departing whence has been the fertile source of an incalculable amount of evil.

It is not too much to say, that, with a precise and accurate knowledge of the development, from day to day, of the *vesicle* of true *vaccina*, not only from its first appearance to the formation of the *areola*, but from the decline of that efflorescence until the spontaneous fall of the scab, and of the true characteristics of the latter as well as of the scar which its fall reveals, and an inflexible determination to observe the "GOLDEN RULE," the practitioner possesses all the knowledge and principle necessary to make a successful and intelligent vaccinator.

Waterhouse's cautions and labors were unheeded, misjudged and futile.

In his own words: "But these repeated cautions were disregarded by the young and sanguine practitioner, who saw nothing but regular cases, little trouble, and great profits. If those whom it most concerns will not attend to what is written expressly for their information, they must alone be answerable for the consequences. There are cases where ignorance is converted into a crime.

"Perceiving that my reiterated warnings were misconceived and misrepresented, and finding some professional gentlemen in the country so wrapt up in ideas of extreme simplicity, that they encour-

nged women and children to inoculate each other, I ceased from further expressions of that kind, and endeavored to content myself with predicting the consequences.

“ During this period, viz : the autumn of 1800, a singular traffic was carried on in the article of *kine-pock matter*, by persons not in the least connected with the medical profession ; such as stage-drivers, pedlers, and in one instance the sexton of a church. I have known the shirt sleeve of a patient, stiff with the purulent discharge from a foul ulcer, made so by unskillful management, and full three weeks after vaccination, and in which there could have been none of the specific virus ; I have known this cut up into small strips, and sold about the country as genuine kine-pock matter, coming directly from me. Several hundred people were inoculated with this caustic morbid poison, which produced great inflammation, sickness, fever, and in several cases *eruptions*, with a greater disturbance of the system than what occurs in the true disease. It is worthy of remark, that I could not influence these people to believe that they had *not* passed through the true disease, and that they were *not* secure from the small-pox. So true it is, that a man need not despair of making the common people believe anything *but* TRUTH ! That vagrant quacks should stroll about the country, inoculating for half a dollar a head, and some for less, is not quite so surprising as that they should, in such a country as ours, find people weak enough to receive it from such hands ! This imprudence ought not, however, to be attributed to the common people alone. Many young practitioners in country villages come in for a share of it. Not a few first inoculated themselves, and then others, without having read more than the newspaper publications, and some not even those, and were looking out for eruptions, and foretelling appearances and symptoms that are never attached to the disease ; and if any very disagreeable occurrence arose, in the course of this imprudent practice, the odium reverted to me.”

Following this is given a narrative of the terrible catastrophe resulting from all this reckless, ignorant, presumptuous, tampering with a new and as yet a very imperfectly known practice, at Marblehead, a large Massachusetts town, an event which had a partial parallel at Norfolk and Portsmouth in Virginia, and in other parts of the country. The result of all this malpractice and of an im-

perfect knowledge of the best methods of preserving "*stored*" vaccine virus, was extreme and rapid deterioration, and, at last, entire loss of the first supply of true vaccine lymph in America.

"Very early in the spring of 1801" Waterhouse received "a fresh supply of *virus* from England from Drs. Lettsom and Jenner, and soon after, more from Dr. Pearson, Dr. Woodville, Mr. Ring, Mr. Waehsel, Mr. Kerre, Sir Granville Temple and the Vaccine Institution, of London, and also, from Dr. Haygarth and Mr. Creaser, of Bath, and Mr. Dunning, of Plymouth Dock."* "Previous to this second importation," he writes, "I had reason to believe that the true *virus* had become extinct in America. *The inoculation was, however, carried on here and there, in the country with such matter as they had.*"†

Those ample supplies were used immediately with prompt and perfect success, the narrative of which is given with a very admirable commentary on the contrast between the regularity and mildness of the development of the *true* and *protective* disease in contrast with the irregularity and violence of the phenomena and symptoms of that totally unprotective *spurious* disease, apt to result from the use of lymph taken from the vesicle after the formation of the *areola* and sure to follow the inoculation of decomposed or decomposing pus, but which many of Waterhouse's contemporaries, who misjudged his motives and disregarded his repeated cautions, had pronounced perfect and admirable developments of *vaccina*. All this is extremely interesting and might be republished and pondered even now with profit. The disasters and innumerable annoyances accompany the use and gross abuse of the first importation of effi-

*I have given Waterhouse's long list of English physicians and institutions supplying this "second importation" of virus, merely to illustrate the great extent of his European correspondence, as affording, too, some slight indication of the arduous nature of his labors, as a missionary of vaccination, by those who were, above all others, competent to criticize and judge.

†The *italics* are mine. The employment of dubious vaccine virus, in the absence of any State or public institution whence perfectly reliable and *gratuitous* supplies might be always obtained, on a sort of theory, any false, in vaccination at any rate, that a poor remedy, or rather pretense of remedy, is better than none at all, has always been one of the great evils in America, and the cause directly of a vast amount of imperfect or quite illusory "protection" and *indirectly*, both by failure to afford immunity from small pox and by the production of "bad arms" (the "loathsome hideous eating ulcers," "running sores," "disgusting eruptions," &c., &c., &c., of the anti-vaccinists) very serious injury to the cause and reputation of vaccination in this country.—H. A. M.

elent virus determined Waterhouse to exercise the greatest caution in selecting those to whom he should distribute, what he calls the "second importation" of virus.

Vaccination had not yet been introduced into the Southern States but, in his own words :

"About this time (the Spring of 1801) I received a number of letters from a variety of people in the Southern States, especially from Virginia, expressing a strong wish to be better acquainted with the kine-pock, and a desire to introduce this benign remedy into that extensive region. As most of the writers were entirely unknown to me, I was at a loss how to act. I might deny a physician of character, and I might entrust it to a person who had none. Some untoward occurrences in the past year rendered me cautious ; for I had unknowingly encouraged mere *speculators*. I use that word in its modern and degenerate sense. While doubting what course to take, the right road opened to my view.

"I had heard that President JEFFERSON was favourably impressed by my first annunciation of the Jennerian discovery and practice. Indeed, the following letter, written in consequence of transmitting him a copy of my pamphlet on this subject, sufficiently testifies it:

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 25, 1800.

"SIR :—I received last night, and have read with great satisfaction, your pamphlet on the subject of the kine-pock, and pray you to accept my thanks for the communication of it.

" "I had before attended to your publications on the subject in the newspapers, and took much interest in the result of the experiments you were making. Every friend of humanity must look with pleasure on this discovery, by which one evil more is withdrawn from the condition of man ; and must contemplate the possibility, that future improvements and discoveries may still more and more lessen the catalogue of evils. In this line of proceeding *you deserve well of your country* ; and I pray you accept my portion of the tribute due to you, and assurances of high consideration and respect, with which I am, Sir,

" "Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Copy.)

" "THOMAS JEFFERSON." "

DR. WATERHOUSE, Cambridge.*

*This is the letter which, as a note on the margin of the second letter (the first *fac-simile*) in the handwriting of Waterhouse informs us was sent to Jenner, and, of course, it is not to be found in the series of *fac-similies*.

"Hearing by some gentlemen direct from the seat of government that the PRESIDENT wished for still more information and that he was desirous to see the practice introduced into Virginia and the other Southern States," Waterhouse "sent him the vaccine virus and painted representations of the pustule* in all its stages on the white man and on the African." This precious package was accompanied by a long (seven pages in Waterhouse's book) letter, excellently written and giving a masterly *resumé* of the whole subject of vaccination. A foot note informs us that this letter was repeated in many manuscript copies which were widely circulated "at the southward" and it doubtless contained the first *reliable* information on that subject received by many a Southern practitioner. Although this letter could hardly fail to interest Southern physicians it would

*"Pustule"—Waterhouse, here and elsewhere, uses the word "*pustule*" in describing the induced eruption of *vaccina*, rather than to appear, with what might be called, captiousness, to differ from Jenner and other English writers. The eruption of *vaccina* is not a pustule at *any* stage of its development. When the disease pursues a regular normal typical course, pus is never discoverable *in the vesicle*. After the formation of the *areola* pus exists in the tissues *outside the vesicle* as an accompaniment of the processes by which the cutaneous slough of which the crust is (with the desicated lymph) composed is cast off and the characteristic indelible scar produced. Waterhouse knew all this perfectly, as is evident from the following foot note to page 6, of the 2d part of his "Prospect of Exterminating the Small-Pox:" "By the *pustule*, the British writers mean the circular sore, or vesicle made in the arm by inoculation; and not those eruptions, that have, in a few instances, appeared in places remote from the inoculated part. This difference in our phraseology has misled some among us. It ought not, strictly speaking, to be called *pustule*, until its contents have become *purulent*. The eruptions on the udder of the cow are more of *phylctine* than of the *purulent* kind." It may be usefully added that pus may appear *in the vesicle*, when it does it is as a result of injury or other causes and resulting inflammation and deterioration but this is not the regular normal or usual course, such a contaminated fluid is not fit to use for vaccination, but this fluid, a mixture of vaccine virus and pus, has been used times without number and even *pus*, quite unmixed with virus. We can well see how easily, by men, who regarded the *vesicle* as a *pustule*, a something *normally* secreting pus, and those who adopted the views of Coxe and others and collected material for their *inoculations* (they could not properly be called *vaccinations*) from the *site* of the vesicle so long as that *site* yielded, or could be *compelled* to yield a fluid of almost any kind. The fact, for it is a fact, that a normal perfect vaccine scab is very sure to afford material for *perfect* vaccination was thought by Coxe and his school (whose name was and is Leglon) to triumphantly demonstrate the position that the above practice is quite free from objection. It would be extremely easy to exhibit the fallacy of this supposed proof and show that while a perfect typical vaccine crust, from a healthy *vaccinifer*, generally affords excellent material for vaccination, *fluid* taken from *any* vaccine vesicle *after* the decline, even after the full formation of the *areola* is extremely *apt* to be the very worst and although such fluid *may* and often *does* induce perfect *vaccina*, it should always be declined.—H. A. M.

occupy too much space in a paper which has already far exceeded limits originally intended.

The following is Jefferson's answer. On the left margin, a note intimating that Jefferson's first letter had been considered a precious and grateful tribute to Jenner and, as such had been transmitted to him, is in the writing of Waterhouse:

See:

Washington June 26. 1801

Your favor of the 8th. inst. came safely to hand with the several matters accompanying it. as the longer the vaccine matter should be unemployed, I knew the chance of it's success would be the less, I thought it would be more likely to answer your benevolent views by having it employed here rather than risking it by a further removal to Virginia. I therefore put it immediately into the hands of Doct. Banitt a long established, judicious & successful physician of this place, together with your letter & the pamphlets & papers accompanying it. it turns out that it had still been too long unemployed; for of numbers inoculated with it from the 13th. to this time, no one appears to have taken the infection. in the mean time a great anxiety is produced here to obtain a successful inoculation. I know not however if it will be obtained unless you could continue your goodness so far as to inclose by post new matter two or three times successively until we can inform you that it has at length taken you need not be at the trouble of writing a word, for it is making it troublesome enough to you to put the matter under cover & into the post office the benevolence which has directed the measures for which we are already indebted to you, will I hope plead my excuse on this new request. I pray you to accept assurances of my high consideration & respect

Th: Jefferson

Doct. Benjamin Waterhouse

H. H. 96. The first letter is in Jefferson's handwriting. It is printed in my Treatise page 22. It is the original of a present to the Jenner, & is in the handwriting of the Jenner. It is the original of a present to the Jenner, & is in the handwriting of the Jenner.

The next letter informs Dr. Waterhouse that not only the first, but also a second supply of virus had failed, but expresses hope that the third will be more successful. This hope was to prove fallacious. The letter contains an *original* and excellent suggestion of Mr. Jefferson's for the preservation of *virus* in hot weather. It may be worth while to state that the present writer *thought* he had invented the same plan which he found very useful in the summer of 1872. He procured the manufacture of several hundred sets of glass vessels, similar to test-tubes, for distribution to his correspondents. Each set consisted of one vessel to contain the charged points and a larger one containing water in which the smaller vessel was enclosed. He spoke with considerable complacency of *his* invention for a month or two, only, at the end of the time, to find that Mr. Jefferson was the inventor. This experience of the method convinced him that it is a good one and worthy of the recollection of practitioners wishing to keep virus from deterioration under certain circumstances, as for instance, on the office table during hot weather. It will be perceived that a small bit of this letter has been lost. There is no doubt that the letters "tre" formed part of the word *treatise*, or that the reference is to a now quite rare pamphlet by Dr. J. C. Lettson, entitled, "Observations on the Cow-Pock, London, 1801," a work principally noticeable for the portraits it contains of the four men then fully recognized as *the* leaders in the great innovation of vaccination, viz.: Jenner, Pearson, Woodville and Waterhouse. The author believes the portrait of the latter and a poor reproduction of the same in the Boston *Polyanthos*, for May, 1806, to be the only engraved likenesses ever produced of a man, of whom, if men saw fit to thus honor their benefactors and saviours, rather than their disturbers and destroyers, the features would be perpetuated in "everlasting bronze" in every city of America.

A marginal note in the handwriting of Waterhouse and signed with his initials will be noticed.

Dear Sir

Washington July 25. 1801.

Your favor of the 17th arrived last night, together with the new vaccine matter which was immediately sent to Doct^r. Cantt. The 2^d as well as the 1st supply of matter had failed. we hope the 3^d will be more successful. how might it answer to put the matter into a jar of the smallest size, well corked & immersed in a larger one filled with water & well corked it would be effectually preserved against the air, and I doubt whether the water would permit so great a degree of heat to penetrate to the inner jar as does when it is in the open air. it would get cool every night, and exposed every day under the cover of the stage, it might perhaps succeed. I have this place on the 30th sent for Monticello, being unwilling to risk myself on the tide waters during the months of July & September, when situations which generate bilious complaints are most dangerous. my own is entirely exempt from that danger. should you be as good as to continue forwarding matter till it succeeds, it will now be best to address the packages to Doct^r. Cantt. from whom, so soon as he succeeds, I shall ask a transmission of fresh matter to Monticello, where I shall endeavor to introduce it. it will be a great service indeed rendered to human nature to strike off from the catalogue of it's evils so great a one as the small pox. I know of no one discovery ^{in medicine} equally valuable. Accept assurances of my great concern and respect

P. S. I re-enclose Doct^r. Letson's ltr.


† The m^r. sent agreeably to this direction
with full effect. succeeded. B.W.

Doct^r. Benjamin Waterhouse

The fourth letter acknowledges receipt of a further supply of virus and refers to the terror with which small-pox was regarded in Virginia.

Dear Sir

Monticello Aug. 21. 1801.

I had the pleasure of writing you on the 25th of July and acknowledging the receipt of yours of July 17. with the vaccine matter which was immediately delivered to Doct^r. Carr. your favors of the 26th & 28th came to me at this place on the 6th inst. and the matter accompanying them was, by a skilful physician of the neighborhood, Dr. Wardlaw, immediately inserted into six persons of my own family. we shall thus stand a chance of planting the disease here where I imagine it will be as salutary as any where in the union. our laws indeed have permitted in relation of the small pox, but under such conditions of consent of the neighborhood as have admitted not much use of the permission. that disease therefore is almost a stranger here, and extremely dreaded. I will take care to inform you of the result of our operation. accept my esteem and respect.

Th. Jefferson

Doct^r. Benjamin Waterhouse

The fifth letter refers to still further receipts of *virus* and the use that was made of them, and also to two vaccinations made on the 7th of August which exhibited symptoms leading the writer to believe that success had been, at last, achieved.

Dear Sir

Monticello Aug. 12-1801.

I wrote you on the 8th inst. that your favors of July 24. & 26. had come to me here. Doct^r. Cardlaw on the 7th inoculated two persons with the matter of the 24th & 4. with that of the 26th. The latter has no effect, but the two former show inflammation & matter. One of them complains of pain under the arm pit, & yesterday was a little feverish. The matter is of this size & form.  The inflammation about 1/2 an inch all round from the pustule. we have considerable hopes he has the true infection. yesterday I received your favor of the 1st inst. Dr. Cardlaw immediately inoculated 5 of the former subjects with it, & one other. He also inoculated one from the pustule ~~from above~~ above described. you shall be regularly informed of the progress & success of this business. I learn from Washington indirectly that Doct^r. Gault's efforts have all failed. Should ours succeed he shall be supplied hence. I am very anxious to obtain the disease here. accept my best esteem & respectful salutations.

Doct^r. Benjamin Waterhouse

Th: Jefferson

The next letter announces the undoubted success with which all the three different lots of virus, transmitted by Mr. Jefferson's method, had been employed.

Dear Sir

Monticello Aug 21. 1801.

I had the pleasure of informing you on the 16th inst that I supposed the inoculation of the knee proæ to have taken effect in two subjects. These were from the matter you were kind enough to send July 24. that of July 26. succeeded with 2 others. that of Aug. 1. with 4. on the 16th inst we inoculated from the 2. first subjects 15 others, 14 of whom very evidently have the infection, so that we have 20. now forming families on whom the disease has taken, besides some recent inoculations. some of them have slight fevers, headache, kernels under the arms, & one only has a very sore arm, most however experience no inconvenience; and have nothing but this small pustule, well defined, ^{moderately} filled with matter, & hollow in the center I have this day impregnated some thread, & half a dozen toothpicks, which I forward to Doct^r Beant. who writes me that his inoculations all fail. Doct^r Hardman of this neighborhood has so much other business that he has been able to be with us only twice. however I expect that the extent of my experiment will encourage the neighborhood generally; engage him to introduce it in their families. to you they will be indebted for it, and I am sure they will be sensible of the obligation. accept assurances of my great esteem & respect

Jefferson

Doct^r Benjamin Waterhouse

Number seven announces the successful use, in WASHINGTON, of virus sent there by Jefferson, the transmission of supplies to Richmond, Petersburg and other parts of Virginia, refers slightly to certain futile and disastrous previous attempts to introduce vaccination

in Norfolk and Richmond which were followed by results similar to those observed at Marblehead and had done much to impede the

Sir

Monticello Sept. 17. 1801

I received by the last post your favor of Aug. 28. and by the same a letter from Doct^r Gent informing me that the matter I first sent him from hence had taken in three of the subjects ^{from} whom it had been inserted that from these he had inoculated others, so that they are now in full possession of the disease at Washington. I have also sent matter to Richmond, Petersburg, and several other parts of this state so that I have no doubt it will be generally spread through it, notwithstanding the immobility which had been produced by the ineffectual experiments of Richmond & Norfolk. The first letter you were so kind as to write to me on the subject & which contained a great deal of useful information, I put into the hands of Doct^r Gent and we concluded it would be useful to publish it as soon as the public should be possessed of the disease. it is still in his hands, and as you have been so kind as to permit us to make any use of it which the general good may require, I shall propose to him to have it published immediately on my return to Washington, which will be within a week from this time. it is just our countrymen should know to those philanthropic attentions they will be indebted for relief from a disease which has always been the terror of this country. Accept my particular thanks for this great good, and assurances of my highest esteem & respect

Th: Jefferson

Doct^r Waterhouse

introduction and progress of true vaccination in the South, also to a proposed, but probably never executed publication of Dr. Waterhouse's long letter of instructions before alluded to.

The eighth letter is a very interesting one and affords a good idea of the care and wisdom with which Jefferson proceeded in this whole matter. It refers to the supply of virus, from his own Virginia vaccinations sent (through Mr. John Vaughn) to Dr. J. R. Cox, of Philadelphia, by means of which, vaccination was first

Dec 1st Sir

Washington Dec 25 1801

I am indebted to you for several favors unacknowledged. I have waited till I could inform you that some variculous after vaccine inoculations had proved that I had preserved the matter ^{of the cowpox} in its genuine form. Dr. Cox of Philadelphia has ascertained this, having received his vaccine matter from hence. To this is added your information that the matter I sent you produces the genuine disease and consequently those in Virginia who received the matter from me are now in security. Knowing how little capable the people in general are of judging between genuine & spurious matter from their appearance, or that of the sore, I endeavored in the course of my inoculations at home to find some other criterion for their guide. With this view I was very attentive to discover whether there be not a point of time counted from the vaccination, when the matter is genuine in all cases. I thought the 8. times 24. hours furnished such a point, I governed myself by it, and it has been followed here successfully by Dr. Sant. but your experience, so much greater, can inform us whether this rule is a sure one. or whether ~~there~~ any other point of time would be still more certain. To the eye of experience this is not necessary: but for popular use it would be all important for otherwise the disease degenerates as soon as it gets into their hands, and may produce a fatal security. I think some popular criterion necessary to crown this valuable discovery. Accept assurances of my great esteem & respect.

Th: Jefferson

Dr Benjamin Waterhouse.

introduced into that city. After the *fac-similes*, a letter from Jefferson which accompanied this supply of virus is inserted, reprinted from Dr. Coxe's volume on the cow-pock.

The ninth, and last of the series in which any reference is made to vaccination, is dated fourteen years after its nearest predecessor. It is a long and admirable letter, and is introduced here because it contains an eloquent and consoling tribute to Waterhouse amid the sad harvest of vindictive, malignant persecution and ingratitude he was reaping for so much enthusiastic, untiring, sagacious labor for the benefit of humanity; the only harvest he ever gathered, the only one that has ever yet been garnered by the *very* highest and noblest benefactors of mankind.

How long the list! How sad the thoughts its consideration must awaken! But thank God there have always been men to whom the lives of Galileo, Spinoza, Luther, Paré, Vesalius, Servetus, Harvey, Jenner, Bell, Waterhouse, and a very large and shining company of such men seem more attractive, with all their wrongs, poverties, disappointments, persecutions and chagrins, than those of the sleek, well-fed *orthodox*, CONSERVATIVE, successful and honored mediocrities who always have been, who *are* and always *must* be, their triumphant rivals, opponents, persecutors. It is one of the best and surest anchors and hopes of humanity that there always have been, and probably always will be, men to whom a consciousness of the honest, and fearless expression of important TRUTH, however unpopular or unappreciated, will always be more fascinating than the success and wealth which is too apt to soften and sweeten the lives of the docile apostles of routine and error.

A brief extract from a letter from Waterhouse to his old friend Lettsom is here appropriate. It is dated May 8th, 1810: "For the honor of my country I am ashamed to tell Dr. Jenner how I have been treated by our Legislature." (that of the State of Massachusetts) "respecting remuneration. I have received nothing but abuse, nay, more, I have been intrigued out of my place as Physician to the United States Marine Hospital, with 500 sterling a year, and given me by Mr. Jefferson as a reward for my labors in vaccination, and this merely in consequence of his going out and others coming in so that, at 56 years of age I have now to contrive and execute some new plan to supply this deficiency."

* * * * "Were I a single man and without children I would

go to England; if not to live there, at least to die there. You do not knock a man on the head in Britain because he exerts himself more than his neighbors do. * * * Sometimes one man influences and impels the sentiments and conduct of the public. I am not calculated by nature or habit to control intrigue."*

Dear Sir

Monticello Oct 13. 18.

I was highly gratified with the receipt of your letter of Sep. 1 by Gent and Mrs Dearborne, and by the evidence it furnished me of your bearing up with firmness and perseverance against ~~the~~ the persecutions of your enemies religious, political and professional. Their best I suppose have not yet forgiven you the introduction of vaccination, and annihilation of the great voracious field of profit to them: and none of them pardon the proof you have established that the condition of man may be ameliorated, if not infinitely, as enthusiasm alone pretends, yet undoubtedly, as facts alone can doubt. in lieu of these enmities you have the blessings of all the friends of human happiness, for this great peril from which they are rescued.

I have read with pleasure the orations of Mr Holmes & Mr Austin. from the former we always expect what is good; and the latter has by this specimen taught us to expect the same in future from him. Both have set the valuable example of quitting the beaten ground of the revolutionary war, and making the present state of things the subject of annual animadversion and instruction. a copious one: it will be and highly useful if properly improved. Cobbet's address would of itself have mortified and humbled the Essex priests; but brother Jonathan has pointed his arrow to the hearts of the worst of them. These ~~four~~ ^{at} ~~reverend~~ leaders of the Hartford nation it seems then are now falling together about religion, of which they have not one real principle in their hearts, like bands, religion becomes to them a refuge from the despair of their worthless vices. They seek in it only an oblation of the disgrace with which they have loaded themselves, or their political raving; and of their mortification at the ridiculous issue of their Hartford convention. no went more than this.

*"Life and Letters of John Jayley Nelson, Boston, 1877."

has shown the placid character of our constitution under any other
 their treasons would have been punished by the halberd we let them live
 as laughing stocks for the world, and punish them by the torment of eter-
 nal contempt. — the emigrations you mention from the Eastern state
 are what I have long counted on the religious & political tyranny of those in
 power with you, cannot fail to drive the oppressed to sinister associations of
 men, where freedom of mind is allowed in fact as well as in pretence,
 the subject of their present clamours and caterwaulings is not without
 it's interest to rational men. The priests have so disguised the simple religion
 of Jesus that no one who reads the sophistications they have engrafted on it, from the
 jargon of Plato, of Aristotle, & other mystics, would conceive there could have been
 gathered on the sublime preacher of the sermon on the mount, yet knowing the
 importance of names they have assumed that of Christians, while the
 true Platonists, or any thing rather than disciples of Jesus. one of the
 has begun now to strip off these meretricious trappings; then follow
 may take courage to make thorough work, and restore to us the figure in it's
 original simplicity and beauty. The effects of this equalizer therefore, whether
 religious or political, cannot fail to be, ^{Do} and in some way.

The visit to Monticello, of which you held up an idea, would be a
 favor indeed of the first order. I know however the obstacles of age & distance,
 and should therefore set due value on it's wearisome execution, should have
 -ness or curiosity had a son of yours to visit this Sozian and Gomorrah
 of persons O'good, Parist, & Gardener. Accept my wishes for your health
 and happiness, and the assurance of my great esteem & respect

Th: Jefferson

The following is the letter with which Jefferson transmitted that
 supply of virus to Dr. Coxé, of Philadelphia, which, as before inti-
 mated, inaugurated vaccination in that city. It is reprinted from
 Waterhouse's book into which it was copied from Dr. Coxé's
 "Practical Observations on VACCINATION, or inoculation for the
 Cow-Pock, Philade'phia, 1802. Page 120, et seq."

“ WASHINGTON, Nov. 5th, 1801.

“ *Dear Sir* :—I received on the 24th ult., your favor of the 22d, but it is not till this day that I am enabled to comply with your request of forwarding some of the Vaccine matter for Dr. Coxe. On my arrival at Monticello in July, I received from Dr. Waterhouse, of Cambridge, some vaccine matter taken by himself, and some which he at the same time received from Dr. Jenner, of London. Both of them succeeded, and exhibited precisely the same aspect and affection. In the course of July and August, I inoculated about seventy or eighty of my own family ; my sons in law about as many in theirs, and including our neighbors who wished to avail themselves of the opportunity, our whole experiment extended to about two hundred persons. One only case was attended with much fever and some delirium ; and two or three with sore arms which required common dressings. All these were from accidents too palpable to be ascribed to the simple disease. About one in five or six had slight feverish dispositions, and more perhaps had a little headache, and more of them had swelling of the axillary glands, which in the case of adults disabled them from labor one, two or three days. Two or three only had from two to half a dozen pustules on the inoculated arm, and no where else, and all the rest only the single pustule where the matter was inserted, something less than a coffee-bean, depressed in the middle, fuller at the edges, and well defined. As far as my observation went, the most premature cases presented a pellucid liquor the sixth day, which continued in that form the sixth, seventh, and eighth days, when it began to thicken, appear yellowish, and to be environed with inflammation. The most tardy cases offered matter on the eighth day, which continued thin and limpid the eighth, ninth, and tenth days. Perceiving therefore that the most premature as well as the tardiest cases embraced the eighth day, I made that the constant day for taking matter for inoculation, say, eight times twenty-four hours from the hour of its previous insertion. In this way it failed to infect in not more I think than three or four out of the two hundred cases. I have great confidence, therefore, that I preserved the matter genuine, and in that state brought it to Dr. Gantt, of this place, on my return, from whom I obtained the matter I now send you, taken yesterday, from a patient of the eighth day. He has observed this rule as well as

myself. In my neighborhood we had no opportunity of obtaining Variolous matter, to try by that test the genuineness of our Vaccine matter; nor can any be had, or Dr. Gantt would have tried it on some of those on whom the Vaccination has been performed. We are very anxious to try this experiment, for the satisfaction of those here, and also those in the neighborhood of Monticello, from whom the matter having been transferred, the establishment of its genuineness here will satisfy them. I am, therefore, induced to ask the favor of you to send me in exchange, some fresh Variolous matter, so carefully taken and done up, as that we may rely on it; you are sensible of the dangerous security which a trial with effete matter might induce. I should add that we never changed the regimen nor occupations of those inoculated; a smith at the anvil continued in his place without a moment's intermission, or indisposition. Generally it gives no more of disease than a blister as large as a coffee-bean produced by burning would occasion. Sucking children did not take the disease from the inoculated mother. These I think are the most material of the observations I made in the limited experiment of my own family. In Aikin's book which I have, you will find a great deal more. I pray you to accept assurances of my esteem and respect.

(Signed)

“THOS. JEFFERSON.

“Mr. JOHN VAUGHAN.”

This paper has reached a far greater length than the writer had intended. It is quite possible that his own interest in the incidents it very imperfectly indicates and relates may not exist in the minds of many of his readers. If so, it is, on all accounts, much to be regretted.

In conclusion, it is worthy of remark how very completely the mission of Waterhouse was accomplished. Through his *direct* means vaccination was introduced not only in Boston but in a very large proportion of the other cities and towns of America. Those not *directly* supplied with their first *efficient* virus by Waterhouse obtained it through the agency of Jefferson. It is by no means too much to say that Waterhouse and Jefferson were the two men to whom the *introduction* of vaccination in America was *wholly* due. However actively many, as Coxe, Seaman, Scofield, and others, labored, none ever even nearly approached these two in the success

with which they propagated perfect vaccine virus, and, directly or indirectly, supplied every considerable city and town of North America, not only with their *first* efficient lymph but, over and over again, with fresh supplies when, as repeatedly happened through ignorance, neglect, or, more frequently, malpractice (mainly the result of following Coxe's teachings, and collecting virus after the appearance, even after the *decline*, of the *areola*) the precious *contagium* was lost. It is, of course, not possible here to detail the facts on which this broad assertion is based. Enough that it is not rashly made, but as the result and outcome of careful study of data quite sufficiently full although not accessible without difficulty. Let the assertion stand as one. When possibly it may come to be disputed, it shall be proven.

This remarkable and unique success was not due to Waterhouse, and from him Jefferson, being the sole recipients of supplies of virus from England. To very many others, societies as well as individuals, ample supplies from Jenner and many of his earliest English disciples were repeatedly sent, but no record of any authenticity has been discoverable that any but Waterhouse and Jefferson succeeded in perpetuating VACCINA of a perfectly normal type such as alone could afford *virus* fit to be used in vaccination. The simple solution of this remarkable and quite exceptional success is to be found in the fact that Waterhouse was a true and faithful disciple of Jenner, that Jefferson was equally loyal to the MASTER and that both religiously observed his "golden rule"; while the practice of a very large proportion of American physicians was unfortunately influenced by teachings which criticised and even ridiculed that rule; teachings which have not, even yet, fulfilled all their mission of evil and injury to the cause of vaccination in America.